U.S. Relations with South Africa
An Annotated Bibliography
Produced in cooperation with the
Department of African American Studies
State University of New York at Buffalo
Chair: James G. Pappas
U.S. Relations with South Africa

An Annotated Bibliography

VOLUME ONE
Books, Documents, Reports, and Monographs

Y. G-M. Lulat

with the assistance of R. V. Guillén, A. E. Clifford, and F. R. Abosch
Dedication

To the memory of
GAIL PARADISE KELLY,
Teacher, Intellectual, and Hell-raiser,
who had a deep antipathy to
all forms of prejudice
and injustice.
Volume One

Contents

Preface xi
Acknowledgments xvii

PART ONE
Annotated Books and Parts of Books

1 General Observations 3
2 U.S. Foreign Policy 33
3 Southern Africa in U.S.-South African Relations 58
4 Nuclear Technology and Other Sectors of Trade and Economic Relations 77
5 Education, Scientific and Cultural Exchanges 101
6 African-Americans and South Africa 107
7 South Africans and the U.S. 117
8 Divestment, Disinvestment and Sanctions 128
9 Comparative Studies 141
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>General Observations</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>U.S. Foreign Policy</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Southern Africa in U.S.- South African Relations</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Nuclear Technology and Other Sectors of Trade</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and Economic Relations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Education, Scientific and Cultural Exchanges</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>African-Americans and South Africa</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>South Africans and the U.S.</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Divestment, Disinvestment and Sanctions</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PART THREE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Partially Annotated and Unannotated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Books and Parts of Books</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>General Observations</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>U.S. Foreign Policy</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Southern Africa in U.S.- South African Relations</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Nuclear Technology and Other Sectors of Trade</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and Economic Relations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Education, Scientific and Cultural Exchanges</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>African-Americans and South Africa</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>South Africans and the U.S.</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Divestment, Disinvestment and Sanctions</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Comparative Studies</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Contents

**PART FOUR**  
*Partially Annotated and Unannotated Documents, Reports and Monographs*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>General Observations</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>U.S. Foreign Policy</td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Southern Africa in U.S.-South African Relations</td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Nuclear Technology and Other Sectors of Trade and Economic Relations</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Education, Scientific and Cultural Exchanges</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>African-Americans and South Africa</td>
<td>384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>South Africans and the U.S.</td>
<td>388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Divestment, Disinvestment and Sanctions</td>
<td>392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Comparative Studies</td>
<td>405</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Addendum: Late Entries**  
407

**Index**  
414
Preface

On June 26, 1990, the world was witness to a remarkable political event: an address to a joint session of the U.S. Congress by a black man in his seventies from South Africa (S.A.); his name: Nelson Mandela. Reporting on the address, the New York Times (June 27, 1990:A11) would observe: "The House chamber is rarely filled for joint meetings receiving visitors, but today was an exception, with even jaded lawmakers reacting as fans in the presence of a celebrity, reaching out to touch Mr. Mandela and, more important, to be photographed with him." He would rouse the predominantly white, and normally staid, Congress to thunderous applause and standing ovation many times during the course of his eloquent speech which he began with the words: "It is a fact of the human condition that it shall—like a meteor, a mere brief passing moment in time and space—flit across the human stage and pass out of existence.... And so we have come to Washington in the District of Columbia, and into these hallowed chambers of the United States Congress, not as pretenders to greatness but as a particle of a people whom we know to be noble and heroic, enduring, multiplying, permanent, rejoicing in the expectation and knowledge that their humanity will be reaffirmed and enlarged by open and unfettered communion with the nations of the world."

On the surface, it would appear that Mandela's U.S. visit was simply the logical outcome of one of the most important political developments in S.A.'s recent history: the announcement in South African parliament on February 2, 1990 by the state president, F. W. de Klerk, during his 'state of the union' speech, that his government was immediately lifting its 30-year ban on the ANC. Furthermore, that his government would permit the ANC, the South African Communist Party, the Pan Africanist Congress, and others to become openly active again in S.A.; and that the world's most famous political prisoner, Nelson Mandela, would soon be freed to facilitate negotiations between blacks and whites for a new apartheid-free S.A. based on universal franchise. Yet, the De Klerk 1990 'writing on the wall' speech, which would mark the beginning of

---

1 1990 would prove to be a truly banner year for extraordinary political events in S.A. Who, for example, could have predicted that within a just few months of Mandela's release, the African National Congress (ANC), would announce (on
the end of the world's most odious political system, apartheid, (albeit the actual process would take some years and would be fraught with many obstacles, deceit and betrayals), was itself a product of a series of seemingly unrelated events: they would range from the assassination of John F. Kennedy on November 22, 1963, through the military coup in Lisbon on April 25, 1974, to the Soweto rebellion of June 16, 1976, and on to the passage of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 by the U.S. Congress against the wishes of Ronald Reagan and the defeat of the South African armed forces in Angola in early 1988. The point to note, however, is that one of the key threads weaving together this tapestry of seemingly disparate events scattered across three different continents and through different time periods would be the political and economic role of the U.S. Five years ago, prompted by dissatisfaction with the existing literature on the magnitude, significance and nature of this role, I began a work (now comprising an 800 page volume to be released shortly under the title: Analyzing U.S. Relations with South Africa: Past Present and Future) that sought to document and analyze it within a broad chronological and multi-disciplinary context. This two-volume bibliography is a byproduct of that work.

The bibliography consists of some 4,500 items published over the past one hundred years or so in the English language, sub-divided first by type of material (books, documents, etc.) and further subdivided on the basis of type of annotations (whether full or partial). The inclusion of the partially or unannotated bibliographic sections has been necessitated by space and/or time limitations that did not permit the full annotation of all items deemed worthy of such treatment (such as many of the items published in 1990 and those listed in the addendum). These broad subdivisions (parts) are broken into chapters by subject categories. The final part of volume two (prepared substantially by D. J. Bertuca) is not a bibliographic chapter but a guide to sources of current information designed to assist users to update this bibliography if and when the need arises.

In preparing the annotated bibliography an effort has been made to provide the user with as much information as possible so as to enable the user to arrive at a quick and accurate decision regarding the relevance of a given item for his/her needs. In an age of exploding galaxies of information and knowledge on almost any given topic, bibliographies have to go beyond being simple listings of items if they are to be of any meaningful help to users. Hence, for example, monographic entries provide not only the usual bibliographic information (author, title, publisher, etc.) and synoptic description, but also such other information as the author's institutional affiliation, a listing of the entire contents

August 6, 1990) that it was suspending its decades-old armed struggle against the apartheid State; or even more remarkable: who could have forseen a day (August 31, 1990) when the leader of the National Party — the traditional bastion of white supremacists — would exhort the party to accept black members and transform it into a multi-racial party. (In 1991, the movement toward change has not abated: on February 1 De Klerk announced in an address during the opening of the 1991 session of parliament his intention to press it to abolish such major pillars of the apartheid system as the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act.)
of the work, and in some cases a listing of places where the work has been reviewed. Since some of the material is now out of print it can only be accessed in libraries. To assist with the location of such material in other libraries, library database identification numbers have also been included where possible. (Note: most users will have to enlist the assistance of the reference librarian—a resource person who is at the heart of all public services in a library—when using this particular information.) The annotations are nonevaluative so as not to influence the reader for or against a given work.

It will be seen from the example that follows that a typical monographic entry is divided into four sections after the initial bibliographic information: [ABS] which provides an ABSTRACT of the work (this section may have different names in other entries: [DES] for description or [THM] for theme depending upon the nature of the work that is being annotated); [CONT] which lists the CONTENTS of the book—with page numbers to provide the user with an indication of the length of the individual chapters (essential information for researchers who have to determine if a relevant chapter or section is substantive enough to pursue); [NOTES] which provides additional information, including: length of the entire work, a library database identification number, series information and an indication of the institutional affiliation of those who produced the work (essential information that helps to determine the likely ideological leanings of the work) at the time the work was produced (hence the use of present tense); and [REVIEWS] which lists places where the work has been reviewed, including, where possible, names of reviewers—this information, however, is provided very selectively, i.e., review information was sought only for items that were considered to be substantively important. The following is an abbreviated sample of an annotated monographic entry:

For the nonmonographic entries (e.g., periodical articles) the same kind of information is provided, except for information that is not typically relevant to periodical literature, such as review information. The contents section is also usually absent, though a version of it has been provided in some instances in the form of a listing of key subheadings under the section titled [SUBHEAD] within the entry. In cases where a journal has put out a special issue on a relevant topic an effort has been made to group the entries from the issue together. In such cases the user should note that full citation information will be found in the main entry and not the subsidiary entries that fall under it.

In the documents and reports section the user should be alerted to the information appearing in the [NOTES] section of the entry. This information, such as the SD (U.S. Superintendant of Documents) number, is essential for locating U.S. government documents. Again the user should consult a reference librarian in making use of this and other information appearing in this section. Note also that this section contains, besides documents and reports, all monographic items (booklets, pamphlets, etc.) that were 99 pages or less in length. The following is an abbreviated sample of an annotated document entry:


An annotated bibliography of this kind is as good as the indexes that accompany it. Consequently an effort has been made to give the user a detailed index such as to permit him/her more than one access point into the bibliography. Therefore, it is possible to access entries via one more of the following points: names of authors; names of organizations; subject headings and in volume two periodical titles (via the periodical index).

When including material in the bibliographies, the following principal groups of readership were kept in mind: academic researchers, government policy makers, activists involved with the anti-apartheid campaigns and students in colleges and universities. Note, however,
that no bibliography on such a wide topic as "U.S. relations with South Africa" and covering a vast time period can ever be truly all inclusive; it must of necessity be selective. Material that compares the U.S. and S.A., regardless of the area of focus (politics, science, society, etc.), has also been included. In general, but not always, newspaper articles were excluded, as were articles of less than approximately 1,500 words. Space and time constraints did not permit a thorough search of U.S. government documents; here also inclusion has been highly selective: mainly congressional documents spanning the last thirty years. Excluded from the annotated section are most Ph.D. dissertations, though they have also been included in the unannotated section. A few audiovisual items have also been included in the bibliography.

It is helpful to note that racial terminology, unfortunately, has a great deal of significance when discussing human affairs relating to S.A. Consequently the following usage has been retained: blacks: refers to all people of color, whether Africans, so called Coloreds or Asians (with reference to the U.S. the term refers similarly to African-Americans, Native-Americans, Hispanic-Americans and Asian-Americans); Africans: refers to roughly 70% of the total South African population, that is, the indigenous inhabitants of southern Africa who were there before the arrival of whites and Asians; Asians: refers to roughly 3% of the total population, of whom the majority came from the Indian subcontinent as indentured labor; coloreds: refers to people of mixed-parentage who form roughly 9% of the total population; whites: refers to roughly 18% of the total population who came from Europe (this term is used interchangeably with the term European).

Any work of this magnitude will, without question, depend on assistance from many people. One of the greatest pleasures of completing this project is the opportunity to thank all who provided assistance, ranging from moral-support to assistance with bibliographic retrieval. I extend my deep appreciation to all those listed on the acknowledgments page and the following: those who provided general assistance: B. Abrahamer, J. Cordaro, S. Graham, M. L. Lange, A. Lulat, E. McGowan, B. Morris, P. Murphy, R. Reyes, P. Scheel, and J. Weinman; D. J. Nuzzo for inadvertently giving me the original idea; those who looked through parts of the work: D. A. Curry, G. Jackson, G. Klein and M. Kramer; the CTS people for their general assistance and encouragement, most especially S. Davis, S. B. Prefontaine, S. M. Neumeister, A. E. Swan, S. J. Walkowiak; the folks at collection development, especially C. A. Daniello; my colleagues in the department, J. Carter, T. J. Davis, P. Ekeh, M. L. Gillette, K. S. Henry, M. F. Hopkins, C. Jansen, C. Johnson and J. G. Pappas, for giving me a warm intellectual home; K. D. Senglaup and the gang at the circulation desk, especially K. Cunningham, K. Fiutak, R. Joyce, D. R. Krieger, J. Mack, Teik Ng, H. Pinak, A. Pinak, C. L. Rojas, P. Ryan, M. Schedel, R. Sepehrad, and D. Singh; those at the various reference desks, but most especially K. Allen, J. Drost, B. Feldman, M. L. Haas, D. K. Hartman, M. D. Lopez, M. Wells, D. C. Woodson, and E. L. Woodson; the experts who helped unravel for me the arcane world of U.S. government documents: E. Herman, K. F. Smith (R. Johnson too), and most especially my SILS teacher, J. S. Robinson; G. S. Bobinski for opening the door to SILS; the folks at the
computing center: M. Auman, H. Carter, L. Hilburger, J. M. Illuzzi, and R. A. Piechowicz; those who have inspired me over the years through their work and who I consider as true intellectuals (in the most positive sense of the word): C. Baylies, M. R. Bhagavan, L. Cliffe, G. Grabiner, G. P. Kelly, P. Lawrence, R. Molteno, and M. Szeftel; and those who gave me general encouragement: especially the folks in CTS, and P. G. Altbach, D. Boskat, J. C. Heidemann, R. Molteno, L. Olszewski, C. Pierre, K. D. Senglaup, and J. Trusello. I would also like to thank those few others who preferred to remain anonymous. I should stress that none of the above individuals are responsible for any errors and weaknesses that may be found in this work.

One final note: in many ways this work is a testimony to the professionalism of U.S. librarians who have truly created the most outstanding library system there is in the world. I salute them for their professional dedication.
Acknowledgments

In the preparation of this volume I am deeply indebted to and sincerely thank my editors at Westview, especially B. Ellington for first seeing value in this work when it was a mere two-page prospectus, and R. Ritke (together with B. Kellison, M. Gusinde-Duffy and Shena Salzmann) for long-suffering patience, but above all for persistent but gentle guidance and encouragement (the inversion of the traditional order of acknowledgments is deliberate—it is a testimony to the heartfelt appreciation of their assistance, encouragement and faith); R. V. Guillén, A. E. Clifford, F. R. Aboesch (together with A. Hohl and E. Dundon) for assistance with bibliographic retrieval; and J. A. Edens, J. Hopkins, and S. Porcari for technical advice and above all for constantly reminding me, by admonition and example, that mediocrity in scholarship is unacceptable. None of these individuals, nor others I have thanked in the preface, are responsible for any errors or weaknesses that may exist in this volume.

y. g-m. l.
VOLUME ONE

Books, Documents, Reports and Monographs
PART ONE

Annotated Books and Parts of Books
General Observations

0001 — Adams, James. "7. The U.S. Lobby." In his THE UNNATURAL ALLIANCE, pp. 126-41. London: Quartet: 1984. [THM]: "The South Africans and Israelis have been remarkably successful lobbyists in the U.S., but for very different reasons. Israel has been able to rely on a large and highly motivated Jewish population who can be counted upon to mobilize in an emergency and work on behalf of their spiritual homeland. The rise of the New Right in the U.S., symbolized by the Reagan administration, has given S.A. unprecedented access to Capitol Hill..." (p.127) [NOTES]: OCLC: 10718094. See also the following chapters in the same volume: (5) S.A., Israel and the Nuclear Howitzer: 38-71; (6) The Arms Business: 102-25; (8) Israel and the Bomb: 145-65; 9. Atoms for Apartheid: 166-86; (10) The Indian Ocean Flash: 187-96; (11) Summary and Conclusion: 197-201. Adams is a senior executive with the SUNDAY TIMES of London. [REVIEWS]: K. Christison. NATIONAL REVIEW 37 (April 5, 1985): 50-51; MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL 40 (Spring 1986): 351; PUBLISHERS WEEKLY 226 (September 28, 1984): 102. See also the following related item:

0002 — FRONTLINE: ISRAEL: THE COVERT CONNECTION, written and produced for the WGBH documentary consortium by Andrew and Leslie Cockburn. (Boston: WGBH Educational Foundation, 1989.) [DES]: A 60 minute TV program (part of the Frontline series) aired on U.S. public television in May 1989; it examines the clandestine side of U.S./Israel relations where Israel has undertaken U.S. foreign policy projects deemed too controversial to be publicly debated within the U.S. itself. Usually these projects have entailed militarily supporting pro-U.S. Third World regimes that have horrendous human rights records. The program also covers the economic and military relationship between Israel and S.A. Among the persons interviewed include Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi.

0003 — American Assembly. THE UNITED STATES AND AFRICA. (Final Edition) New York, N.Y.: Columbia University, 1958. [THM]: The central theme of this anthology is that "America has a moral interest in Africa. One in every ten Americans can claim descent from Africa, and our
greatest domestic moral problem is bound up with the Negro peoples of that continent ... What we do in America inevitably helps to shape that future Africa. Though we have no territories or possessions on the continent, we nevertheless exert an influence upon it by virtue of our great power and wealth and our historic position in the quest for liberty. It behooves us to consider what kind of Africa is best for the African, for us, and for the World as a whole, and to examine our own actions so as to discover whether they are consonant with these ultimate ends." (pp. xi-xii) [CONT]: Introduction: Africa in the Twentieth Century, Walter Goldschmidt (professor of anthropology and sociology, University of California): xi-xiv; (1) The Character of American Interests in Africa, Rupert Emerson (professor of government, Harvard University): 1-26; (2) The Character and Viability of African Political Systems, James S. Coleman (professor of political science, University of California at Los Angeles): 27-62; (3) External Political Pressures on Africa Today, Vernon McKay (school of advanced international studies, Johns Hopkins University): 63-90; (4) The Character and Potential of African Economies, S. Daniel Neumark (Food Research Institute, Stanford University): 91-116; (5) The African Economy and International Trade, Andrew M. Kamarck (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development): 117-140; (6) Racial Situations and Issues in Africa, William O. Brown (director of African Research and Study Program, Boston University) and Hylan Lewis (associate director of community services, Department of Unitarian Service Committee, Inc.): 141-64; (7) Culture and Changing Values in Africa, Walter Goldschmidt: 165-92; Appendix A. The African Operations of U.S. Government Agencies, Vernon McKay: 193-204; Appendix B: Statistical Tables and Maps: 205-40; Final Report of the Thirteenth American Assembly: 241-44; Participants in the Thirteenth American Assembly: 245-52. [NOTES]: pp. xiv + 252; tables; notes; LC: 58-10601. The American Assembly, established in 1950 by the president of the Columbia University, Dwight D. Eisenhower, is "...a program of conferences which bring together business, labor, farm groups, the professions, political parties, government and the academic community." (p. 250) This anthology comprises background papers prepared for the conference, and they were edited by Goldschmidt. Upon conclusion of the conference a final report was issued which in part reads: "The relationship between the races in Africa offers a problem of great difficulty, as racial sentiments run deep. America is not without fault on this score. Racial tensions in this country are inimical to our relations with Africa, but progress on this front has been an asset. The members of the Assembly affirm the belief in equality for all races in all countries." (p. 244) References to S.A. are scattered throughout the book, but principal emphasis is on middle Africa.

0004 —Bigelow, Poultney. WHITE MAN'S AFRICA. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1898. [THM]: A description of Bigelow's travels and experiences in the region that eventually became the Union of S.A. He undertook the visit to southern Africa in the aftermath of the Jameson raid, at the request of his publishers. References to the U.S. occur throughout the book. The book is dedicated to Martyn Steyn, President of the Orange Free State with the words: "Without your permission and knowledge I am dedicating this book to you. We differ on many points, yet in one vital

0005 — Blum, William. "41. Angola 1975 to 1976." In his THE CIA: A FORGOTTEN STORY, pp. 284-91. London: Zed, 1986. [THM]: Description of CIA activities in Angola, some undertaken in collaboration with S.A., to prevent MPLA from coming to power. Also looks at their post-1976 activities aimed at undermining the MPLA government. [NOTES]: notes, index; OCLC: 14413261. See also his section on the Seychelles (44. Seychelles 1979 to 1981, pp. 304-06) where he describes the probable CIA/S.A. involvement in efforts to topple the Rene Government. Blum is a free-lance journalist and one of the founders of the WASHINGTON FREE PRESS.


0007 — Brookes, Edgar H. "5. Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way." In his SOUTH AFRICA IN A CHANGING WORLD, pp. 96-113. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1953. [THM]: (1) It is important for South
Africans to get to know what American interests, goals, ideals, etc. are in the world for in a sense they are "our rulers" given that, whether we like it or not, American hegemony is today for many parts of the world a reality. (2) U.S. relations with S.A. occurs along so many different dimensions: economic, political, cultural, sociological, and so on, that it becomes even more necessary to "know our rulers." (p. 98) [NOTES]:

OCLC: 1869122. Comprises a set of public lectures delivered at the University of Natal in the first semester of 1953.

0008 —Bull, Hedley. "Implications for the West." In CONFLICT AND COMPROMISE IN SOUTH AFRICA, ed. by Robert I. Rotberg, and John Barratt, pp. 173-88. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1980. [THM]: An exploration into the factors behind the bitter disagreement that exists in the West (especially in Britain and the U.S.) over what should be the correct policies toward S.A. Discusses questions such as "What are the chief Western interests and objectives with respect to S.A.?; What political future for S.A., if any, should the Western Powers seek to promote? What are the means by which these interests and objectives can best be promoted?" [NOTES]: viii + 212 pp., index; OCLC: 5449371.

Comprises proceedings of a conference, sponsored by the World Peace Foundation of Boston and the South African Institute of International Affairs of Johannesburg, held in Rustenburg, S.A. in mid-1978. Bull is professor of international relations at University of Oxford. Rotberg is professor of political science at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Barratt is director of the South African Institute of International Affairs. See also the succeeding chapter by Robert C. Good:

"An 'Outsider's' Personal Reflections on S.A.'s Future," pp. 189-95. [THM]: Without external pressure the white minority in S.A. will not accept change, it remains therefore to specify the nature of that pressure. Pressure on S.A. should be selective, aimed at specific goals, and it should not seek to totally isolate S.A. Additionally the U.S. should be available to assume the role of an 'honest broker' if the time arrives when all the relevant parties decide to negotiate. [NOTES]: Good is a former U.S. ambassador to Zambia.

0009 —Burgess, Andrew. UNKULUNKULU IN ZULULAND. Minneapolis, MN: Board of Foreign Missions, 1934. [THM]: A description of the missionary activities of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (a U.S. missionary organization that grew out of the decision, in 1806, of four students of Williams College, Massachusetts, to take up foreign missionary work) in S.A., based in part on the author's own visit to that country. The Board sent its first missionaries in 1835, to work among the Zulus. [CONT]: (I) Glimpses of Paganism: 13-30; (II) Spirits and Witch Doctors: 31- 49; (III) Zulu Kings and their Realm: 51-75; (IV) Life in the Zulu Kraal: 77-100; (V) Facing a Closed Door: 101-22; The Lord Uses a Medicine Bottle: 123-46; (VII) The Penetration of Zululand: 147-66; (VIII) Building for the Future: 167-200; (IX) The Children Accept their Heritage: 201-19; (X) The New Day: 221-59; Statistics: 261; List of Missionaries: 262; Bibliography: 263. [NOTES]: 263 pp., photos, bibliography; OCLC: 1943241. Burgess is a member of the Board.

Boston harbor for S.A. in the ship the BURLINGTON. They had been sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to commence missionary activity among the Zulus. Arriving in S.A. on February 6, 1835, the missionaries remained in the Cape until early December. Thereafter they began the journey to the north to begin the process of establishing the interior mission, a project that eventually turned out to be unsuccessful. Among the missionaries was George Champion, and his wife Susanna Lamed. This journal was kept by him, and this edition covers the period beginning with the journey to the Zulu chief Dingaane on December 22, 1835. Topics covered in the journal includes Champion's observations of Zulu life and customs. Here is a sample passage from an entry about the first meeting between the chief and the missionaries: "The king's house stands in the centre well constructed, and very large, perhaps 20 ft. high but after all only a Kaffer hut. The king's great chair or throne stands in this room. Beside it there is nothing but a mound of clay on which the monarch often stands to survey his town and land no doubt with some of the pride of the babylonish king as recorded in Dan.4: 30. The king took us to different parts of his abode. It consists of apartments resembling the first, but usually containing three houses. He led us from one place to another till absolutely we were tired, and thought that if left to ourselves it would be difficult to escape out [of] the labyrinth." (pp. 33-34) [NOTES]: pp. xv + 149; notes; index; OCLC: 661277. The JOURNAL is edited and annotated by Alan R. Booth.

0011 —Chester, Edward W. CLASH OF TITANS: AFRICA AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY. New York, N.Y.: Orbis, 1974. [THM]: A general survey of U.S. relations with Africa based in large part on material derived from the U.S. state department series: FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES. It seeks to provide a comprehensive survey—one that would help dispel considerable ignorance of the African continent of which the following historical episode is symbolic: Judge Riley, a post-Civil War appointee was dispatched to the U.S. consulate at Zanzibar, but only to return six months later complaining that after traversing the world for six months he had yet to find the place. At the same time the survey aims to throw light on U.S. relations with sub-Saharan Africa (Liberia, Congo, Ethiopia, Union of S.A., etc.) "Until these relations are investigated at length, it will be impossible to place Negro history in the U.S. in its world setting. Foreign relations, one must remember, may be as important an aspect of the American race question as domestic policy." (p. v) [CONT]: Introduction: The Modern Afro-American and African-American Relations: 1-6; (1) The African Slave Trade: 7-28; (2) The Colonization Movement: 29-50; (3) African-American Economic Contacts: 51-66; (4) Religious, Educational, and Cultural Contacts: 67-92; (5) The Barbary Pirates: 93-112; (6) From Barbary Wars to the Berlin Conference: 113-42; (7) From the Berlin Conference to World War I: 143-78; (8) From World War I to World War II: 179-200; (9) The Italo-Ethiopian War and World War II: 201-20; (10) Since 1945: A Region-by-Region Survey: 221-46; (11) Since 1945: Emerging Independent Africa: 247-70; Conclusion: Past and Present: 271-80; Bibliography: 281-298; Tables: 299-304. [NOTES]: pp. ix + 316; notes; tables; bibliography; index; OCLC: 947607. References to S.A. are interspersed throughout the book.
Chester teaches at the University of Texas at Arlington.


0015 —Frye, William R. **IN WHITEST AFRICA: THE DYNAMICS OF APARTHEID.** Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968. **[THM]:** "One day, perhaps not long hence, if there is no hope of peaceful change in southern
Africa, that part of the continent may explode in a bloody race war, with the Africans turning to communism for help because they cannot get it elsewhere. Indeed, some underground leaders have already despaired of the free world and sought out communist arms, money, and training. What, if anything, can be done to prevent the tragedy of race war and communism in this part of the world? What are the real interests of America and Britain? Can we the West afford to get involved? Can we afford not to? Are we, indeed, already inextricably involved? What kind of outside action, if any, would be effective in heading off disaster? It was in an effort to answer such questions that this book was written." (p. x) [CONT]: (1) What God Hath Joined Together: 1-6; (2) A Nation Torn Asunder: 7-41; (3) The Rumbling Volcano: 42-74; (4) Reform from Within?: 75-106; (5) Penetrating the 'Golden Curtain': 107-34; (6) Sanctions—The Ultimate Weapon: 135-68; (7) Running with the Hounds: 169-89; (8) Storm over S.A.: 190-96; South Africa Chronology, 1652-1968: 197-210. [NOTES]: xiii + 222 pp., notes, chronology, index. [REVIEWS]: BOOKLIST 65 (January 15, 1969): 518; CHOICE 6 (March 1969): 121; KIRKUS REVIEW 36 (August 15, 1968): 947; LIBRARY JOURNAL 93 (October 15, 1968): 379.

0016 —Fund for New Priorities in America. "South Africa." In SOUTHERN AFRICA: IMPLICATIONS FOR U.S. POLICY, ed. by Mia Adjali and William Susman, pp. 54-71. New York: Fund for New Priorities in America, and Women's Division, United Methodist Church, 1976. [THMJ]: A general discussion by conference participants on issues such as: what U.S. policy should be toward S.A.; whether Americans should go to S.A.; the role of foreign investments; and the strength of the liberation forces. (Participants in this discussion: Robert S. Brown; David Sibeko; Thami Mhlambi; Leslie O. Harriman; Immanuel Wallerstein; and Timothy Smith.) [NOTES]: 106 pp., bibliography; OCLC: 7274753. Conference sponsored by various Senators and House members too numerous to list; and in addition to S.A., the book also has sections on Zimbabwe and Namibia. Entire book is an edited transcript of a congressional conference held on September 9, 1976.

0017 —Gann, L. H., and Duignan, Peter. "6: The U.S. and S.A." In their SOUTH AFRICA: WAR, REVOLUTION, OR PEACE? pp. 66-74. Stanford: Hoover Institution, 1978. [THMJ]: (1) The Carter administration's South African policy is erroneous because it is "highly moralistic and mistakes S.A. for Georgia." (p. 68) (2) In matters of political, economic and cultural relations the U.S. must adopt a similar position to the one it has with the Soviet Union, rather than severing all relations. (3) U.S. policy must be aimed toward encouraging the ascendancy of moderates because "whenever radicals have come to power in recent years, bloodshed, expulsion, forced labor-camps, confiscation, and re-education programs have resulted." (p.72) [NOTES]: 85 pp. notes, index; series: Hoover Institution Publication 199; OCLC: 4491852. Gann is senior fellow, and Duignan is curator and head of the African Program, at the Hoover Institution for War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University.

0018 —Gordon, David F. "10. Southern Africa." In SUPERPOWER COMPETITION AND SECURITY IN THE THIRD WORLD, ed. by Robert S. Litwak and Samuel F. Wells, Jr., pp. 227-58. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 1988. [THMJ]: While southern Africa is not likely to be as strategically impor-
tant as other trouble spots (such as the Middle East and Central America) in terms of superpower rivalry, the fact that this rivalry does have some impact on events within that region necessitates consideration of southern Africa as among the areas of relevance to this rivalry. Yet it is also important to stress that the fundamental causes of conflict and instability in that region is not external but internal. "The conflicts in southern Africa mark the final act in the drama of decolonization and have at their heart the question of race, still the most daunting and emotional issue of the twentieth century." (p. 228). [SUBHEAD]: The 1974 Portuguese Coup and Its Aftermath; Internationalization—The Angolan Civil War; After Angola; S.A. Fights Back; Destabilization and Constructive Engagement; The Nkomati and Lusaka Accords; Southern Africa Today; Regional Tensions Reemerge; The Crisis in S.A.; The Future Role of External Actors in Southern Africa; The Impact of American Policy. [NOTES]: notes, index, RLG: NYBY88-B152. The anthology, of which this chapter is a part, originated out of a series of lectures, organized by the International Security Studies Program of the Wilson Center in 1985; around the theme "The Third World and International Security: Competing East-West Perspectives and Policies." Gordon is associate professor of international relations at Michigan State University. Litwak directs the International Security Studies Program, while Wells is the associate director of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C.

—Greenberg, J. "Human Rights: S.A. and the American Experience." In HUMAN RIGHTS: THE CAPE TOWN CONFERENCE, ed. by C. F. Forsyth, and J. E. Schiller: 113-23. Cape Town: Juta, 1979. [THM]: The U.S. experience with the struggle for the protection of the human rights of its citizens—especially minorities—as well as similar experiences elsewhere, suggests that the enactment of a Bill of Rights is crucial to the success of the struggle. Therefore S.A. would do well to enact its own Bill of Rights, which would not only assist in the dismantling of apartheid but would also protect the white minority itself in the future from tyranny perpetrated by the majority. [NOTES]: OCLC: 6490382. Greenberg is a representative of the Legal Defense Fund of the National Association For the Advancement of Colored People, U.S.A. Proceedings of the First International Conference on Human Rights in South Africa held at the University of Cape Town from January 22-26, 1979.

—Gromyko, Anatoly. "Part III, Chapter 2: The Main Features of the Policy of Imperialism in Africa." In his AFRICA: PROGRESS, PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS, pp. 190-205. Moscow: Progress, 1981. [THM]: African nations are today increasingly threatened by renewed efforts of imperialist powers, based in Washington, London and so on, to interfere in their internal affairs. Moreover, through imperialist support of S.A. the African continent remains plagued by racism and colonialism. "This support is founded on the fact that S.A. is not only a treasure-house of mineral resources but also an exceptionally profitable sphere for investment." (p. 195) [SUBHEAD]: Some of the Methods of Imperialist Policy in Africa; The Policy of Imperialist Powers in S.A.; Doctrines and Conceptions Intended to Justify Imperialist Policy in Africa. [NOTES]: notes. Translated from the Russian by Dudley Hagen. Chapter 3: The U.S.A.: The Chief Threat to the Independence and Social Progress of the Countries of Af-
frica in Part III (which is titled: 'Imperialism: The Chief Threat to Social Progress in Africa') may also be of interest.


Lulat: U.S. Relations with South Africa

[THM]: Texts of various U.N. resolutions on S.A., specifically numbers 616; 1248; 134; 1761; and 181. [NOTES]: index; set: volume 5 of 5 volume set; OCLC: 4587351. Hottelet is news correspondent for the Columbia Broadcasting System; and Schlesinger, is professor in the humanities at the City University of New York. See also the following two sections by Jean Herskovits:


0025 —Houser, George. "U.S. Policy and Southern Africa." In U.S. POLICY TOWARD AFRICA, ed. by Frederick S. Arkhurst, pp. 92-152. New York: Praeger, 1975. [THM]: U.S. policy toward Southern Africa hitherto has been in the direction of supporting the status quo. "Thus U.S. policy is one of accommodating the white and European regimes, of hypocritically
emphasizing peaceful change, of avoiding confrontation, and of carrying on 'business as usual'." (p. 127) If this morally and politically deleterious policy is to change direction, however, then one of the pre-requisites is changes within the U.S. itself with regard to the position of the black minority. [SUBHEAD]: The Necessity for a Unitary Approach to Southern African Problems; Rhodesia's Vulnerability to Change, Namibia, Imminence of Independence in Remaining Portuguese Territories; S.A.: Key to Settlement in Southern Africa; U.S. Policy in Practice; The Possibility of Change in U.S. Policy. [NOTES]: notes, index; OCLC: 1322228. This chapter is part of a collection of papers delivered at a seminar on U.S.-African relations organized by the Phelps-Stokes Fund, a U.S. philanthropic foundation working in Africa. Pages 131-40, and pages 141-52 comprises commentary on Houser by Ngwabi M. B. Bhebe (professor of history at Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone), and Larry W. Bowman (assistant professor of political science, University of Connecticut). See also the sections on Southern Africa in the contributions by Arkhurst (visiting professor of political science at Queens College, City University of New York): 3-8, and Herbert J. Spiro (member of the Policy Planning Staff, U.S. Department of State): 60-63. Houser is the executive director of the American Committee on Africa.

0026 —Howe, Russell Warren. ALONG THE AFRIC SHORE: AN HISTORIC REVIEW OF TWO CENTURIES OF U.S.-AFRICAN RELATIONS. New York: Harper and Row, 1975. [THM]: The U.S. has always felt a special responsibility for Africa, because of the large presence of people of African origin in the U.S. This responsibility has often manifest itself in the form of 'emotion, paternalism, and ultra-sensitivity' with respect to African policy issues—making it difficult to make proper policy judgments. In consequence Africa has tended to represent a major foreign policy dilemma; and to mask this, policy makers have usually asserted that relations with Africa are still of nascent origin requiring, therefore, study and patience. Yet in truth U.S.—African relations are not of recent origin, they go as far back as the days of the Philadelphia Congress. "Indeed, few areas of the world have been so consistently host to such large number of those Americans whose task, as Lord Acton said of diplomats, is to lie abroad for their native land." (p. 4) [CONT]: Part One 1766-1884, The Age of Outposts: 3-32; Part Two 1884-1935, From Bismarck to Ras Tafari: 33-71; Part Three 1935-1946, Warrior Interlude: 72-104; Part Four 1946-1963, America and African Nationalism: 105-46; Part Five 1963-1973, The Era of Disillusionment: 147-182; Sources: 183-86. [NOTES]: x + 197 pp., illustrations, bibliography, index; OCLC: 1622739. This is a historical account of U.S. diplomatic relations with Africa written by a journalist in a non-academic style. References to S.A. are scattered throughout the book. [REVIEWS]: CHOICE 13 (June 1976): 570.

0027 —Joseph, Benjamin M. "Epilogue: Some Call These Sanctions." In his BESIEGED BEDFELLOWS: ISRAEL AND THE LAND OF APARTHEID, pp. 131-42. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1988. [THM]: "Israel and S.A., this book has contended from the start, are not and do not act like strange bedfellows. Their partnership has rested on a community of interests and complementary resources, but that is far from the entire story. As the world's two remaining political systems committed to separatist philoso-
phies that exclude indigenous Third World majorities, they have developed an underlying sense of kinship and solidarity ... It would seem that nothing short of some political FORCE MAJEURE can begin to loosen the Israeli-South African embrace, a conclusion that was further tested by and born out by developments in 1986 and early 1987. It was in March 1987 that the Israeli government, fearing damage to its relations with Capitol Hill, found itself dragged kicking and screaming to the point of saying that it would not sign still more military contracts with S.A.—in the future. This great Israeli concession drew some immediate applause in the U.S., and then the entire matter was dispatched to the memory hole." (pp. 131-32) [NOTES]: vi + 74 pp., notes, chronology, bibliography, index; series: Contributions in Political Science, No. 199; LC: 86-17733. See also his chapter 6: Military Affairs: Counterinsurgency, Electronics and Hardware, pp. 43-56. References to the U.S. also occur in other chapters. Joseph is currently research director at the New York based not for profit Claremont Research and Publications. The following related items may also be of interest: ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA: THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE by George J. Tomeh (New York: New World, 1973, [76 pp.]); INTERNAL CONTROL IN ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA: THE MECHANISMS OF COLONIAL-SETTLER REGIMES by Christopher Mansour and Richard P. Stevens (London: The International Organization for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 1983); ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA: AN UNLIKELY ALLIANCE? by Rosalynde Ainslee (New York: United Nations Department of Political and Security Affairs, 1981; Publication No. 81-18876); ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA: A SPECIAL REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT, THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1985) [REVIEWS]: CHOICE 26 (September 1988): 218; FOREIGN AFFAIRS 67, no. 1 (1988): 197; LIBRARY JOURNAL 113 (April 1, 1988): 87.

In her U.S. INTERESTS IN AFRICA, pp. 59-62. New York: Praeger (for the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University), 1983. [THM]: A brief discussion on why traditional notions concerning South Africa's future, and its strategic/economic value to the U.S., should be rejected. She for example states "Changes in the global strategic and political environment since World War II have caused military strategists to re-examine some of the assumptions underlying the high priority that S.A. would have us attach to "the Cape Route." (p. 60) [NOTES]: tables, notes; series: Washington Papers, Volume 11, number 98; OCLC: 9282027. Kitchen is director of the African Studies Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University.


0030 —Manning, Richard. "6. Not Quite Out of Africa." In his THEY CAN-
NOT KILL US ALL' AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT OF SOUTH AFRICA TODAY, pp. 189-228. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1987. [THM]: A U.S. journalist's view of U.S. relations with S.A., in which he makes the following points among others: While young black South Africans had demonstrated considerable admiration for almost everything U.S. American, "...in less than six years Ronald Reagan destroyed a quarter century of good will toward the U.S. in black South Africa." (p. 194) To black South Africans of today actions ranging from the Reagan veto of the bill on sanctions against S.A. in 1986 to support of Jonas Savimbi's UNITA in Angola has helped place the U.S. on the side of the white minority in S.A. Even though the Carter administration had taken a vociferous stand against apartheid his human rights policy led to no major changes—a fate shared by Ronald Reagan's policy of constructive engagement. "The policy of constructive engagement so outraged the young comrades of the townships that any black with ties to the U.S. became immediately suspect in the eyes of the revolution. Since most of those blacks with U.S. ties were moderate black leaders, those leaders lost a degree of control over the struggle because they had lost that same degree of credibility with the comrades." (p. 199) U.S. support of UNITA, while deploring apartheid, is helping S.A. to hold hostage almost half of the African continent via its destabilization program of which UNITA is one of the chief agencies. Sanctions against S.A. would not work because independent southern African states, which are almost totally dependent on S.A., would assist it to circumvent them for their own survival. [NOTES]: notes; RLG: NYBY87-B22940. Manning, a correspondent for the news magazine NEWSWEEK was expelled from S.A. for filing news reports that the government in Pretoria found much to its distaste.


0032 —Mermelstein, David., ed. THE ANTIAPARTHEID READER: THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WHITE RACIST RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA. New York, N.Y.: Grove, 1987. [THM]: Mermelstein says that while the media in the U.S. has managed in recent years to bring to the fore the problem of S.A.'s odious system of apartheid, the level of understanding of the role the U.S. plays in relation to this system is still very poor within the general populace. This anthology, therefore, seeks to provide a means for helping in the correction of this weakness by bringing together in one place a large number of articles that will enable the lay reader to gain an in-depth understanding of the issues involved. The anthology is divided into five parts, with each part broken into chapters, and each chapter further subdivided into sections—consecutively numbered from 1 through 78. The topics covered range from the history of colonization of S.A. by Europeans, and the development of the present system of apartheid, through black resistance to this system, on to the role of foreign (including U.S.) businesses in the maintenance of apartheid and
Part One: General Observations

(Professor, State University of New York at Stony Brook): 177-84; (27) Black Education in S.A., John A. Marcum (former academic vice chancellor of University of California at Santa Cruz): 184-89;


NOTES: xxi + 538 pp., notes; bibliography; maps; tables; chronology; index; LC: 86-45242. The items in this anthology have been reprinted from elsewhere. The following are their sources. (The numbers in parenthesis are the section numbers under each chapter as indicated above.)

0033 —Minter, William. *KING SOLOMON'S MINES REVISITED: WESTERN INTERESTS AND THE BURDENED HISTORY OF SOUTHERN AFRICA*. New York, N.Y.: Basic Books, 1986. [THM]: To view apartheid as simply a system introduced by Afrikaners in 1948, or to see it simply as a unique product of ignorance and prejudice of the 'white tribe of Africa,' or to see the present day 'reforms' as an attempt to dismantle this system is to have only a limited understanding of S.A.'s racial system. A fuller understanding would be one that recognizes for example that the system is an outgrowth of Western policies and practices dating as far back as the time of the first arrival of white settlers in the 17th century and continued all the way to the present; that even while the present South African leadership verbally disassociates itself from apartheid, it in no way implies that it wishes to dismantle the institutions that reserve for the whites the monopoly of power, wealth, and prestige—tied
the economic and military ties between the West and S.A. to serve as a backdrop to the discussion about the triangular relations between Israel, South Africa and Black Africa. [NOTES]: xi + 116 pp., tables, notes, bibliography, index; LC: 81-40716.

0038 — Oudes, Bruce J. "Evolving American Views of S.A." In SOUTH AFRICA INTO THE 1980s, ed. by Richard E. Bissell and Chester A. Crocker, pp. 159-86. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1979. [THM]: An overview of views held by diverse groups in the U.S. such as: the administrations (Carter, Kennedy and others); various conservative groups; the left; blacks; and so on. He concludes: "In the 1980s both the South African government and those black South Africans who go beyond non-violence probably will find American public opinion a far more elusive prize than either had thought possible at one time or another since 1960." (p. 182) [NOTES]: notes, bibliography, index; OCLC: 4932905. Oudes is an independent journalist.


0040 — Rohr, Janelle., ed. "[S.A.]" In PROBLEMS OF AFRICA: OPPOSING VIEWPOINTS, pp. 143-234. St. Paul, MN: Greenhaven, 1986. [THM]: Part of the 'opposing viewpoint series' (aimed primarily at students) whose objective is to 'present balanced, and often difficult to find, opposing points of view on complex and sensitive issues." Chapters 4 and 5 examine the apartheid issue from a number of perspectives, including the role of the U.S.:


0041 —Rotberg, Robert I. "Africa, the Soviet Union and the West." In \textit{East-West Rivalry in the Third World: Security Issues and Regional Perspectives}, ed. by Robert W. Clawson, pp. 225-39. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1986. [\textit{Thm}]: Contrary to surface indications such as ideological proclivity for "socialism," one-party political systems, and authoritarian rule, Africa south of the Sahara is less inclined toward the Soviet Union than the West—in part "...because the Soviet Union has pursued its policies very much on the cheap, and from the African point of view both parsimoniously and pusillanimously, [consequently] it has fostered the cynicism, rather than the loyalty, of Africans." (p. 238) Therefore of greater significance is the rise of S.A. as a regional superpower vis a vis the Soviet Union—and this may actually weaken Western motivation to get S.A. to "...modernize apartheid and move toward fuller participatory government for all of its citizens." [\textit{Notes}]: notes, index; OCLC: 12189061. Rotberg is professor of political science and history at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Clawson is director of the Center for International and Comparative Programs, Kent State University.

Part One: General Observations


Scott, Otto. *THE OTHER END OF THE LIFEBOAT*. Chicago: Regnery, 1985. *(THM)*: A historically based account of why S.A. is the way it is and why it has become a target of world condemnation. Beginning with a look at the processes involved in the dissolution of the British colonial empire ("done to death by its wartime allies: the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R." p. vii), which led to the birth of S.A., Scott goes on to examine present responses of Afrikaners to world pressures on S.A. Scott concludes that
while the Afrikaners have no intention of capitulating to these pressures they are enlightened enough to begin the process of reforming the apartheid system because it is too rigid. Scott says that he was also impressed with the Afrikaners search for a system of confederation, thus proving that "all human wisdom does not reside in the liberal and/or Marxist movements." (p. xiv) Scott then further observes: "In contrast, many parts of black Africa have proved that regression to tribal cruelty and dictatorial rule is possible when leftist regimes are supported by western nations with ulterior motives. The U.S.S.R. stands today behind some of the most odious dictatorships in Africa and other regions, but the Soviet Union with its Gulag Archipelago, is itself a stomach-turning dictatorship. How many clergymen and liberals can accept the slavery of the U.S.S.R. in its empire and satellites and boggle at S.A. remains a startling example of the appropriateness of Jesus' remarks to the erring scribes of his day: "Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat and swallow a camel" (Matthew 23:24). The epilogue is focused on a discussion of U.S. efforts to bring about change in S.A., efforts that Scott feels are misguided. [CONT]: PART 1: FLASHBACK: (1) Berlin: 3-23; (2) Union and Isolation: 24-28; (3) The Colony: 29-41; (4) Milner’s End: 42-45; (5) Interregnum: 46-55; (6) Hitler and Co.: 56-68; (7) War Revisited: 69-81; (8) Stalin’s Friends: 82-93; (9) The New Alliance: 94-104; (10) Cairo and Teheran: 105-109; (11) Riptides: 110-17; (12) Yalta: 118-27; (13) Potsdam: 128-37; (14) Peace: 138-47; (15) The New World: 148-61; PART 2: SOUTH AFRICA: CONTEMPORARY VOICES AND SCENES: (16) Johannesburg: 163-81; (17) Pretoria: 182-222; (18) Johannesburg and Cape Town: 223-51; (19) Stellenbosch: 252-72; (20) Cape Town Again: 273-88; (21) Transkei: 289-95; (22) Durban and Out: 296-99; (23) Epilogue: 300-29; Bibliography: 330-35. [NOTES]: xiv + 342 pp., notes, bibliography, index; LC: 84-18219. Part two of the book is based on a trip to S.A. by Scott and his wife, undertaken with the assistance of the South African department of information and its officials "who acted as guides and introducers." [REVIEWS]: BESTSELLERS 45 (July 1985): 152; REFLECTIONS 4 (Summer 1985): 7.

0045 — Sethi, S. Prakash. THE SOUTH AFRICAN QUAGMIRE: IN SEARCH OF A PEACEFUL PATH TO DEMOCRATIC PLURALISM. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 1987. [THM]: A compilation of articles, many (thought not all) originally published in the Spring 1986 and Summer 1986 issues of the Journal: BUSINESS AND SOCIETY REVIEW]. A wide variety of issues are discussed but all from the perspective of change in S.A. and how events may be shaped toward this goal. Contributors range from U.S. congresspersons and journalists through church leaders and professors to businesspersons and officials of the South African government. Absent from the collection are contributions from organizations such as the African National Congress of S.A. Referring to this weakness, the editor states: "I also made every effort to seek the views of African National Congress (ANC), the newly organized black labor unions in S.A., such as The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU); representatives of the black press in S.A. and the network television in the U.S. Unfortunately, these efforts were not successful because of limitation of time and the inability or unwillingness of the participants to prepare the necessary material." Among the points raised in the book include the following:
U.S. foreign policy toward Africa in general and S.A. in particular is characterized by double standards originating out of the racist attitudes of U.S. government officials over many decades toward black Africans. (See Wolpe article) While very effort must be made to persuade S.A. to dismantle the apartheid system, this effort must not include measures that would bring about long term negative consequences for all parties concerned—measures such as comprehensive economic sanctions. (See the Nickel and Holladay articles.) The divestment campaign in the U.S., which up to 1986 had resulted in 95.77 billion dollars worth of institutional investment funds being rendered free from the taint of South African investment, seeks "to bury Apartheid" and in this effort success will not be entirely elusive. (See Coons and Murphy articles) U.S. business corporations, through their active measures in their day to day operations in S.A., can be a positive force for change and therefore they should not scuttle S.A. (See the Wilking article). **[CONT]**


**PART II: AN OVERVIEW AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE:** (11) The Legal Structure of the Apartheid State, Laurence Boulle (professor of law at the University of Natal) and Jacky Julyan (law lecturer at the University of Natal): 127-148; (12) The Religious Rationale of Racism, Oliver F. Williams (teaches management at the University of Notre Dame): 149-160;


---Smith, Stewart. "III. U.S. Neocolonialism: (2) Economic Basis: Southern Africa." In his U.S. NEOCOLONIALISM IN AFRICA, pp. 59-68. New York: International Publishers, 1974. [THMJ]: 'It is not accidental that U.S. private capital is concentrated in by far the biggest industrial and, at the same time, racist country in Africa. With about 6% of the population of the continent, S.A. produces about 1/4 of the continent's gross national product and 2/5 of its industrial output. If its minerals and their profitability were the initial attraction of American monopolies, their economic stake soon became inextricably intertwined with more far-reaching political, military and social considerations." (p. 59) [NOTES]: notes, index; LC: 73-87863. See also the section titled "U.S. Partnership in Social Oppression," pp. 122-36, wherein Smith discusses the relationship between the ultra-right in the U.S. and S.A.; the refusal by the U.S. to apply comprehensive sanctions against S.A.; the U.S. role in the Namibian independence impasse; and so on. This book was originally published in the Soviet Union by Progress Publishers. The Library of Congress cataloging in publication data shows the author's name to be Stuart J. Seborer. Foreword is by Henry Winston (national chairperson of the Communist Party of the U.S.)

---Spence, J. E. "S.A., the World Powers, and Southern Africa." In SOUTH AFRICA IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: THE INTENSIFYING VORTEX OF VIOLENCE, ed. by Thomas M. Callaghy: 107-32. New York: Praeger, 1983. [THMJ]: A discussion of Pretoria's foreign policy objectives in S.A. within the broader context of its relations with world powers, including the U.S. Towards the end of the chapter warns the West against accepting unquestioningly the traditional arguments regarding S.A.'s military and economic value to the West—arguments that have often resurfaced in recent years. [NOTES]: notes, bibliography, index; OCLC: 9393643. Callaghy is assistant professor of political science, Columbia University; and Spence is professor of politics and pro-vice-chancellor at University of Leicester. See also the chapter titled "U.S.," pp. 72-105. [THMJ]: A general discussion of issues such as: what is U.S. Government's self interest in southern Africa; what U.S. intervention has tended to do there; and how much change in policy will the Carter administration introduce regarding southern Africa.

---Stackpole, E. J. SOUTH AFRICA: IMPRESSIONS OF AN AMERICAN, 1933. Harrisburg, PA: Harrisburg Telegraph?, 1933? [THMJ]: Journalistic observations by the author of the HARRISBURG TELEGRAPH (Pennsylvania-
nian Newspaper) daily column: "Watching the Game: Here, There, Everywhere," based on a visit to S.A. in 1933, and originally written for that column. These observations cover a variety of subjects/topics/issues including white South African attitudes toward the U.S. [NOTES]: 188 pp., photos; OCLC: 10096150. Says in the preface to the book: "There is no pretense in these pages of deep research; simply the random notes of one who in a vacation of several months acquired sincere admiration and an abiding faith in S.A.—a land of promise." There is no 'list of contents page' in the book as it is not divided into chapters. Instead the book comprises brief individual sections with their own headings.


0050 —Steinberg, Alan J. "14. The Jews and S.A." In his AMERICAN JEWRY AND CONSERVATIVE POLITICS, pp. 121-30. New York: Shapolsky, 1988. [THM]: "Jews of all political persuasions can unite in their advocacy of an end to apartheid in S.A. and the establishment in that nation of a system of universal suffrage, civil liberties and equal rights for all races, colors, and creeds. Unfortunately, this lofty goal is often obfuscated by the insistence of American liberals that economic sanctions be imposed against S.A. Furthermore, American liberals blindly support the ascension to power of the Marxist oriented African National Congress and its leading ally in the clergy, to wit, Nobel prize-winner, Bishop Desmond Tutu. For any thoughtful American Jew, both these canons of American liberal dogma are at best foolhardy and counter-productive and at worst
a prescription for the devastation of the Jewish community in S.A." (p. 121) [NOTES]: LC: 88-24027.


0052 —Winter, Gordon. "31. Gatsha Buthelezi and the CIA." In his INSIDE BOSS: SOUTH AFRICA'S SECRET POLICE, pp. 427-41. London: Allen Lane, 1981. [THM]: Description of the efforts of the CIA, operating through a front organization called the African-American Institute headed by William Cotter to cultivate Chief Gatsha Buthelezi (hereditary leader of the Zulus) as a U.S. ally. The CIA man in Pretoria, says Winter, was one Edward Holmes. The idea says Winter was that "should a revolution come to S.A. the CIA would prefer him to be the natural black leader rather than the 'Moscow-backed Nelson Mandela.' In the event of Chief Buthelezi coming to power, the CIA could put the might of the U.S. government behind him to ensure he stayed in control." (p. 429) Also discussed at length in this chapter are the activities of the African-American Institute; CIA's assistance to Steve Biko's organization, SASO; and interference with the internal politics of the PAC. Winter, however, also observes that his account of CIA activities among the black leaders in S.A. should not be construed to mean that these leaders became CIA stooges. [NOTES]: Index. References to the U.S. occur in other places in the book. Winter was a British immigrant to S.A. who ended up working for the South African Secret Service called BOSS (Bureau of State Security) for seven years.

0053 —Yarborough, William P. "6. Boers—Not Yet at Bay." In his TRIAL IN AFRICA: THE FAILURE OF U.S. POLICY, pp. 51-57. Washington, D.C.: The Heritage Foundation, 1976. [THM]: The U.S. should support S.A.'s efforts to create a federation via its policy of 'Homelands' for black South Africans, because only through such a policy can S.A. ensure a peaceful change and avoid the civil war disasters that befell countries such as Zaire, and Angola. [NOTES]: notes, bibliography; OCLC: 2644511. Yarborough is a retired U.S. army officer. The Heritage Foundation is a right-wing conservative think-tank.